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THE MEMORBOOK OF NÜRNBERG,

CONTAINING

THE NAMES OF THE JEWS MARTYRED IN THAT CITY IN THE YEAR 5109=1349 A.D.

FROM THE UNIQUE MANUSCRIPT

PRESERVED IN THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

CAMBRIDGE,

AND MARKED: ADD. 1506.

EDITED BY

W. H. LOWE, M.A.,

HEBREW LECTURER OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

LONDON:
"JEWISH CHRONICLE" OFFICE,
2, FINSBURY SQUARE, E.C.
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נשמתן של צדיקים

ספר זכרון לדור אחרון

כולל

שמות יראי י״י וחשבי שמו הנהרגים והנשרפים

בעיר

נורנברג

בשנת הק״ט לבריאת עולם (חלקם בחיים אמן !)

הוצאתי לאור מכתב יד אחד ואין שני המונח בבית עקד הספרים אשר למדרש החכמה בעיר

קאנטאבריגיא

וחמיסמן: 'אלף וחמש מאות וששה בניספים'

אני וילים הנרי לו

״אלו נשמותיהן של צדיקים שהם נהונות באוצר״

קהלת רבה על פרשה ג׳ פסוק כ״א

נדפס בבית ספר הזכרון אשר לבני ישראל באנגליא

שנת אָתְרַם לפרט קטן

2070949

IN MEMORY

OF

THE REVEREND AND LEARNED

JAMES CARTMELL,

D.D.,

MASTER

OF

CHRIST'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

AND ELECTED

VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY

IN THE YEARS 1849, 1865, AND 1866,

ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND MOST CONSISTENT

ADVOCATES

OF

THE REMOVAL OF THE DISABILITIES OF THE

JEWS.

DEPARTED THIS LIFE, SUNDAY, JAN. ~~30TH~~ 23rd, 1881.

"Less than thirty years ago, ... Dr. Cartmell, with a few friends, Dr. Bateson, Dr. Phelps, Dr. Broadley, Dr. Leapingwell, Professor Sedgwick, Mr. Baines, and last, though not least, Mr. Gunson, came forward as friends of the Jews, presenting petitions, year after year, to the House of Commons for the full emancipation of the Jews, *i.e.*, for their admission into Parliament. Mindful of this, Dr. Schiller-Szinessy took occasion in last Tuesday's lecture, when giving the definition of the name of 'Yisrael' according to the 'Zohar,' to pay a tribute of affection to the memory of his late master, saying, among other things: 'You are aware, gentlemen, that we Jews, the bodily descendants of Jacob (the first of the name of Israel), generally claim this high title exclusively for ourselves, even as you Christians, in your turn, by having adopted the moral code of Israel, claim it for yourselves. Now, however much we Jews may ordinarily dispute the claim of the Christians to this title, there are, certainly, men with respect to whom we forego our exclusiveness; and the late Dr. Cartmell, my much loved master was, certainly, one of these. He was one of those of whom the Talmud says: כל הכופר בעבודה זרה נקרא יהודי Anyone who rejects practices alien to Judaism deserves to be called a Jew. There may be in this University greater scholars than Dr. Cartmell; but there have always been but few who equalled him, and certainly none who surpassed him in the virtues which are known frequently to spring from a Jewish education: a strong sense of duty, kindness of heart, charity, unselfishness, and love of humanity. And gentle as was his life, so was his death. For he passed away painlessly as one of those of whom the Rabbis of old say, that they die by the mouth of the Eternal God, the Lord drawing forth their breath with a kiss of His mouth! על פי יי׳ במיתת נשיקה.'"—*Jewish Chronicle, Feb.* 11*th*, 1881.

THE

MEMORBUCH OF NÜRNBERG, 1349 A.D.

גזרת ק"ט

INTRODUCTORY.

From the destruction of Jerusalem under Titus (A.D. 70) to the time of the revolt under Bar-kokhba (117—138), and onward to the period when the Jews lost their citizenship in the Eastern and Western Roman Empires,[1] (321—439), and again throughout the middle ages and modern times, and in some countries even to the present day,[2] the unhappy Israelite has been the victim of the most cruel and well-nigh ceaseless persecutions. Were persecutions raised by the Heathen against the Christians, or crusades undertaken by the Christians against the Moslems, or were persecutions stirred up and wars of extermination waged against unorthodox Christians, the "back" of Israel was always at the same time "given to the smiters."

Thus in all the five chief crusades against Islam, the Jews, though themselves not less opposed to the principles of that religion than were the Christians, suffered even more than the Moslems themselves. Of the sufferings of the Jews in Germany, during the first year of the first crusade (preached by Peter of Amiens, and led by Godfrey of Bouillon, 1096—1099), we have some circumstantial Hebrew records. They are to

[1] The tracing of the gradual withdrawal from the Jews of privileges accorded by the Roman empire to other conquered nations, and their final deprivation of all rights of Roman citizenship, forms an interesting, though melancholy, chapter in Jewish history. The first blow was struck at their liberties when, in 321 A.D., Constantine (Cod. Theod. xvi. 8. 3) deprived the Jews of the right to be eligible to the office of *Decurio* (Senator in any town out of Rome). From that time onwards successive decrees, some of them of the severest description, and others again of a milder, and even conciliatory, nature were made by the various emperors in reference to the Jews. But at last Theodosius the Younger, Emperor of the East, and Valentinian III., Emperor of the West, combined in putting the finishing stroke to this work of injustice and fanaticism by publishing in Constantinople (Jan. 31st, 439) a decree (Cod. Just. I. 9. 18 (19)—ed. Krueger, p. 92), which finally deprived the Jews of all rights of citizenship. For a more detailed account of these events see *Philippson's* excellent article, "Wie verloren die Juden das Bürgerrecht im West- und Oströmischen Reiche?" This article, which was originally published with the same title, but under the name of "Ludwig Schragge" (Berlin, 1832), has been republished in *Philippson's* "Israel. Predigt-und Schul-Magazin" (Leipzig, 1854).

[2] In Germany the Royal Prussian Court-Preacher, Stöcker, and his party, and in Hungary, Istóczy Úr (*i.e.* Mr. Istoczy), are at present organising a systematic persecution of the Jews. And since writing this, disgraceful outrages have been, and still are being, perpetrated on the Jews in various parts both of the German and of the Russian Empire.

be found in הנזירות הישנות, published in Berliner & Hoffmann's אוצר טוב, 1878 (pp. 087-095), and in the גזרות תת"נו of Rabbenu Eliezer ben Nathan [the celebrated ר"אבן, who was a correspondent of Rabbenu Tam, see ספר הישר (Wien, 1810-11, fol.) leaf 72[a], Siman 615] edited by Jellinek[3] (Leipzig, 1854).

From very ancient times (see T. B. Synhedr., 97[b]) to the present day it has been the habit of believers in the Jewish Scriptures, to be מחשבי קצין, *i.e.*, calculating from Biblical verses the *Times of the End*, when the Messiah is to be expected, and the troubles preceding his Advent to be looked for. Now the year 1096 was the eleventh of the 256th (רנ"ו) cycle;[4] and since (Jer. xxxi. 7)[5] it is written רנו ליעקב שמחה וגו' "Sing ye for Jacob, joy, &c.," in this cycle they were looking for the joy and salvation of Israel; and these sufferings, of which we now proceed to give an epitome, were looked on at the time as the חבלי המשיח, the troubles preceeding the Advent of the Messiah (comp. Matt. xxiv., Mark xiii., Luke xxi.). The persecution began on Sabbath, the 8th of Iyyar* (May 3rd, 1096), when the Crusaders, and the citizens of Speyer, rose up and slew eleven of that congregation. But the proto-martyr in this persecution was a lady of Speyer, renowned for her piety, who slew herself rather than fall into the hands of the Christians. The rest of the Jews were protected in the castle by the Governor Johann (with the countenance of King Heinrich). On the 10th of Iyyar the persecution spread to Worms. There the Christians took the corpse of a person, who had been dead thirty days, and paraded the streets with it, saying, "See what these Jews have done to one of our neighbours! They have taken a Christian and boiled him in water, and poured the water into our wells in order to poison us" (Comp. Otzar Tob, p. 088, l. 35). Upon this the Christians rose in a body, and slew the Jews, men and women, and children in the cradle. The historian tells us how even the manumitted slaves and handmaidens died willingly with their former Jewish masters, with the proclamation of God's Unity on their lips: "Hear, O Israel, the Lord our God, the LORD is ONE." Again (as at Speyer), the remnant fled for refuge to the castle of the Governor. Here they remained in safety till the 23rd of Iyyar, when the Crusaders and citizens stormed the castle and took it after a desperate resistance on the part of the Jews. Then the Jews fell to

[3] This Book is out of print, and, as far as we know, not a single copy of it exists in Cambridge. Dr. Jellinek, who is not only a man of learning himself, but also furthers as much as possible the learning of others, with his usual kindness and courtesy sent his own private copy to be deposited in the Cambridge University Library for a considerable time, that we might have the opportunity of making use of it. For this our best thanks are due, and are hereby rendered, to him.

[4] A cycle (מחזור) is a period of nineteen years. Beginning to count from the Creation of the world, 256 × 19 gives 4864, so that the 11th year of the 256th cycle would be 4856 A.M. But 5000 A.M. corresponds to 1240 A.D., therefore 4856 A.M. would be 1096 A.D.

[5] When Abarbanel, in his Introduction to his "Commentary on Kings," speaks of the year in which the Jews were driven out of Spain and Portugal as שנת מזרה ישראל "He that *scatters* Israel" (Jer. xxxi. 9), he does so, no doubt, in confidence of the fulfilment of the words which follow, "shall gather him, and watch him, as a shepherd his flock." מזרה=252, and 5252 A.M. corresponds to 1492 A.D.

* אדר is an error in the document, for which we must evidently read אייר, as has already been pointed out by le comte Riant, *Inventaire critique des Lettres historiques des Croisades*, Paris, 4to, 1880, pp. 110, 111; see also *Revue des Études juives*, Jan.-Mars, 1881, pp. 145, 146, and Jahn's *Tafeln*.

slaying one another (as they have done over and over again at various places), rather than fall by the hands of the enemies of their religions Many heart-rending incidents occurred. Let one suffice. A certain R. Meshullam b. Yitzchak (Isaac), had a son named Isaac, whom his wife Zipporah had borne him in her old age. He cried with a loud voice, "I will offer my son Isaac, even as our father Abraham offered his son Isaac." Then Zipporah entreated him, "My lord, my lord, wait a little, lay not yet thy hand on the lad, whom I have borne in my old age, and reared and brought up as an eagle its young. Slay me first, that I look not on the death of the lad!" But the father answered, "I will not delay a single moment. Let Him, who gave him, take him as His portion, and give him to sit in the bosom of Abraham our father." Then he bound Isaac his son, and took the knife in his hand, and recited the Benediction used when slaughtering animals for Jewish food, and the lad answered "Amen." Then he took his wife, deeply wailing, and they went out both of them together, and the Christians slew them. If the reader desires to follow up the harrowing details of that day, let him read p. 090 of the אוצר טוב, where he will find an account of the noble deaths of Isaac ben Daniel, Rabbi Simchah ha-cohen, and the lady Minna. On the 3rd of Sivan similar horrors were perpetrated at Mainz, where there perished 1300 individuals in one day, and but 60 escaped. But why dwell longer on these sickening scenes? Suffice it to say that the slaughter spread from Speyer, Worms, and Mainz to the whole region of the Rhine, and that it reached Cologne (June 2nd), Neuss (June 28th), Coblenz (June 29th), Andernach (June 29th and 30th), Xantes (June 30th), Moers (July 3rd), and then Kempen, Geldern, Trier (Trèves), Metz, Regensburg, &c.

Again, in the second Crusade, preached by Bernard of Clairvaux, and led by Conrad III. of Germany, and Louis VII. of France (1147-1149); in the third under our own Richard Cœur-de-Lion (1189-1192); and in the fourth (1202-1204), and the fifth (1228-1229), of which the last but one was undertaken at the instigation of Pope Innocent III., the Jews came in for their full share of suffering.

And so, too, when the wars against the Albigeois, etc., were waged (1209-1229) with sanguinary cruelty, the Jews suffered together with these doctrinal descendants of the Manichæans and Paulicians. Again, the Crusades of S Louis of France against Egypt (1248-1250), and against the Moslems of Africa (1270), with his wild hope of baptising the King of Tunis, and in fact of compelling Moslem and Jew to accept baptism, brought the Jews *into the fire* of persecution, if not *into the waters* of Christian Baptism.[6] With the last expedition, which ended fatally to S Louis, closes the history of the Crusades against Islam.

But while the unconquered Moslem now had peace, for the vanquished Jew there was no peace. Silently, but surely, was an ever fresh Crusade preparing against the Israelite. And here we cannot omit the mention of that fearful scourge, the Inquisition, which had been established as a formal Tribunal by Pope Gregory IX. in 1229 (though Inquisitors had already existed under Pope Innocent III. since 1203). This eventually

[6] Were the subject not so terribly serious, we might be inclined to say, *more rabbinico*, that this took place לקיים מה שנאמר באנו באש ובמים (תהלים ס״ו י״ב) אל תקרי ובמים אלא או במים:

became a terrible weapon, always at hand, to be wielded against the Jewish race.

But it is in the congregation of Nürnberg that we are at present especially interested. In 1298 this Community suffered persecution under Rindfleisch, and again in 1336 under Armleder, two rapacious scoundrels, who, after the manner of the times, carried on their barbarous atrocities under the plea of zeal for Christ. It was, however, during the years 1348-1350 that the matter culminated, and in 1349 that the persecution in Nürnberg took place, to which the MS. before us refers.—Not that this was an isolated case, but rather a specimen of what occurred at this time in many places.—Now, over and above the general fanatical hatred which Christians of that period bore for the Jews, there were two chief, but not altogether independent, causes which brought about this furious outburst of persecution in 1349. These were the existence of the sect of the Flagellants, and the appearance of the Black Death. The fanatical sect called Flagellants had suddenly arisen in Perugia in the thirteenth century, and thence in a short time had spread through the whole of Italy. In the next century they passed over into Germany and Hungary, where the fire of their zeal seems to have still smouldered, after it had become almost extinguished elsewhere. They were, indeed, though certainly a set of mad enthusiasts, harmless enough as long as they confined their zeal to the stirring up of sinners to flagellate themselves; but, when once they adopted the idea that, by fanning the flame of persecution against the Jews, they could appease the God of love, and do honour to their Master, who in the hour of His death prayed for His very murderers, they necessarily became a mere lawless gang of robbers and cut-throats. Now, when the Black Death, which came from China (1348), and spread through Spain, Savoy, Switzerland, France, and Germany, made its appearance, it was by the dark superstition of the age set down to the machinations of the Jews. The following is a succinct account of the story then current. One Yacob a Paskate, of Toledo, with one R. Peyret, and another Jew named Aboget, was supposed to be a professional poisoner. He was believed to be manufacturer at Toledo of sufficient poison to compass the death of every Christian in the civilised world. From his laboratory at Toledo he was supposed to have distributed to each Jew a little bag of poison, with which he was commissioned to poison the rivers and wells of his own immediate neighbourhood. The fact that the Jews, through the superiority of their hygienic laws, and their "soberness of life,"[7] have always been less subject to the influence of epidemics than other people, would give colour to this calumny, while the desire to become possessed of the savings of the industrious children of Abraham, would provide an all-powerful motive for pressing the accusation to its fullest limits.[8] When, then, the Black Death appeared, the Flagellants once more aroused themselves, and took occasion by it to stir up the populace throughout the whole of Germany to pillage and murder the scattered flock of the house of Israel. Thus it will be seen that (as we

[7] See Richardson, *Diseases of Modern Life*, pp. 19—22.

[8] Indeed there is historical evidence to prove that it was not only Jews who were attacked, but any one whose affluence rendered him worth the trouble of robbing. If he was not a Jew, he was accounted as one for purposes of spoliation. Moreover it was not the revolutionary party in the town, but rather the party of order, which was responsible for the attack on the Jews (Barbeck, *Nürnberg*, p. 35).

said above) what took place at Nürnberg is but a specimen of the atrocities which were perpetrated elsewhere. Of the sickening details of this diabolical persecution, as it was carried out at Nürnberg, but little happily is known; but the terrible nature of it is sufficiently indicated by the fact, that our MS. contains the names of about 130 *families, households*, and individuals (sum total about 560), who perished in that town alone.

But some of our readers may, perhaps, be ignorant of the nature and use of a "Memorbook." In order to explain these things clearly, it will be necessary for us to say something about the Jewish custom of commemorating the dead.

The Jews have, for ages past, been in the habit of commemorating their dead (notably such as have laid down their lives in the cause of their religion),[9] and of praying for their souls publicly in the Synagogue on various occasions, particularly on the so-called Days of מתנת יד, and on the Day of Atonement (before the additional service).[10]

The Days called those of מתנת יד are the eighth day of Passover (non-biblical), the second day of Pentecost (non-biblical), and the eighth day of Solemn Assembly (biblical), when the reading out of the first roll of the Law closes with Deut. xvi. 17, which contains the words איש כמתנת ידו "Each according to the *gift of his hand*, &c." Now, while the Jews were in their own land, all their males were commanded to *appear* before the LORD, at the place He should chose, on these three Festivals (Deut. xvi. 16); but they were not to appear *empty-handed*, they were to give each *according to his means* (כמתנת ידו). Those who were unable to appear, chiefly of the *Diasporá*, *sent*, as is well known, their gifts. When the Second Temple was destroyed, the Jews looked on their Synagogues (which, it need hardly be mentioned, existed in great numbers before that time) as Little Sanctuaries, in accordance with the words of Ezek. xi. 16, ואהי להם למקדש מעט, which the Talmud Babli (Megillah 29[a]) explains by "these are the Synagogues and Schools which are in Babylon," meaning not only those in Babylon, but, of course, those also throughout the whole *Diasporá*, in consonance with the Prophet's own expression, בארצות אשר באו שם. Consequently, they desired to offer in the Synagogue something which would correspond to the gifts they had been commanded to make in the Temple. Now, kindness done to the poor (be it by actual gifts or otherwise) has always, and rightly so, been looked on as done unto the LORD: "He that is kind unto the poor lendeth unto the LORD" (מלוה יי חונן דל Prov. xix. 17): "And the king shall answer and say unto them, 'Verily I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these My brethren, ye have done it unto Me'" (Matt. xxv. 40): Nay, more, to entertain strangers was looked on as of even greater merit than appearing before the LORD, גדול הכנסת אורחין יותר מהקבלת פני שכינה (T.B. Shebuoth 35[b]; comp. Heb. xiii. 2). And the reason for this is that all mankind is created in the image of God, see Sifra, *Kedoshim*, Perek iv. (Ed. Weiss, leaf 89[a], col. 2). Accordingly, the giving of alms in the Synagogue is looked on as an appropriate substitute for the offerings which were formerly made in the Temple. But

[9] Indeed, so great was their reverence for the martyrs, that they prayed for them even when they did not know where it was that they suffered. Of this an instance is given further on under "Description of the Manuscript."

[10] The Sephardic Jews do this on the *Eve* of that day.

not only so. In the offering of alms *in behalf of the dead*, there is a combination of charity *for* the *poor* dead (for there is none poorer than the dead, compare the remark of Rashi on Prov. xix. 17 in T. B. Berakhoth, 18[a]), and of almsgiving *to* the living *poor*. And so, in old congregations all over the world (of those of recent growth we do not speak, as from their practices we can, of course, establish no rule) צדקה "alms" (the amount on these occasions being unspecified) is vowed, *i.e.*, promised, on these days. Immediately after each of the Three Festivals (and on the day after the Day of Atonement) trustworthy persons go round with a collecting-box, males to males, and females to females, and while the donors put in their gifts, the collectors have their faces turned away, in accordance with Prov. xxi. 14, "A gift in secret pacifieth anger" (cf. Matt. vi. 4), thus enabling the offerer, if of limited means, to put in his mite, which is as acceptable as the large gift of the wealthy (cf. Mark xii. 43). Thus much with regard to the promising of alms on the Three Festivals.

But the Day of Atonement stands apart from these, inasmuch as that no such gifts were commanded to be brought on it. How, then, are we to account for the fact that alms are vowed in the Synagogue on the Day of Atonement, just as on the Three Festivals?

Let us endeavour for a moment to trace out the Jewish idea of Atonement. That money offered in a proper, that is in a devout and single-hearted, manner is efficacious for the atonement for the soul, we know from two distinct passages of the Pentateuch, the one (Numb. xxxi. 50) merely permissive indeed, but the other (Ex. xxx. 15), even prescriptive. Now, the Jewish conception of Atonement is, that it is a compensating for the enjoyment of unlawful pleasure, looked on as a pampering of the flesh (רבוי חלב ודם T. B. Berakhoth, 17[a]), by abstinence from lawful pleasure, which is a disciplining of the flesh (מעוט חלב ודם). While the Jewish polity still existed, it was provided that this should be wrought in a two-fold manner, (*a*) directly by fasting, and (*b*) indirectly by contributing, for the purchase of victims, money which otherwise might have been spent on enjoyment.[11] But, when the Temple sacrifices ceased, some substitute for the latter was required. The fasting was retained, but, instead of money being paid for the buying of victims, money was offered in alms to the poor. Having explained thus much, we may proceed to speak of the word *Atonement*, as given in the Hebrew in the plural כפורים (Atonements). This plural has been explained by the Jews in two ways, which are, after all, but modifications of one and the same idea. (1) The word is in the plural, they say, because atonement is obtained for more than one, viz., for all the souls of the *living* congregation (לכפר על נפשותיכם, לכפר על נפשותינו), as, in fact, we find כסף הכפורים also in the plural (Ex. xxx. 16). (2) Because the Atonement, wrought by the Day of that name, has been supposed to be efficacious not for the *Living* only, but also for the *Dead* of the house of Israel; a view which is expressed by no less a personage than the celebrated R. Yaacob Weil.[12]

[11] The thoughtful pious, "who think on their ways, so that they may turn their feet to God's Testimony," are in the habit of giving on a Fast-Day, as additional alms, the amount which they save by their fasting.

[12] His work is not accessible to us, but this explanation of his is fortunately cited in R. Menachem Mendel Auerbach's עטרת זקנים on ש"ע Orach Chayyim, *Hilchoth Yom hakkippurim*, § 621. Since writing this a copy of it has come to hand.

In connection with this latter view it is most natural, then, that alms should be vowed on the Day of Atonement by the Living, on behalf of the Dead, with a view to Atonement, both for the Living, and for the Dead.

But that the Dead should be commemorated is even more natural still. It is, indeed, nothing more than a natural act of affection, and an exercise of faith in the continued existence of the soul after death, that an individual should commemorate his own immediate relatives. And this, of course, is not confined to the Three Festivals and the Day of Atonement, but is done according to the promptings of the heart of the individual, and the feelings of those who sympathize with him in his bereavement. But if it be true (as Yehudah Hallevi has said*) that Israel is the heart of the human race, and therefore sympathizes with the sufferings, and rejoices in the triumphs of the afflicted members of its body, much more must the heart know *its own* bitterness. Thus, any one who dies a martyr for the Jewish religion is esteemed by the Jews as *doubly* a saint. First, because he dies a martyr for his principles, as a conscientious human being (and with such an act the "heart" can sympathize); secondly, because the principles for which he dies are those of Judaism, and this touches the "heart" itself. And so, not only do the Jews commemorate their parents and nearest relatives *by name*, and their more remote relatives in general terms, but they commemorate also the martyrs. Now, when the number of them was comparatively few they could be mentioned *by name*, but as the numbers increased some limit was necessarily put to this custom. Thus, in some places they mention by name only their *local* martyrs, while in some congregations they mention by name the martyrs of other congregations, but only on the *anniversary* of their martyrdom. Or, in some cases, the martyrs are commemorated in a more general manner, by *congregations*, by *countries*, or even (see an instance in Jellinek's *Worms und Wien*, p. 9) by *thirty-two* provinces, summed up in a few lines. But, at all events, whatever may be the various uses of different places, all congregations of Israel (of the Ashkenazic rite) possess a magnificent prayer called the אב הרחמים, "O Father of Mercies," in which are mentioned "The 'Noble Army of Martyrs,' who delivered themselves up [to death] for the hallowing of God's name" (קהלות הקדש שמסרו נפשם על קדשת השם). There are various books extant in which lists of the names of the martyrs and saints of certain localities are given, and these are called "Memorbooks." Such is the Darmstadt Manuscript, published in the אוצר טוב; such the Manuscript in the possession of Dr. Jellinek, in Vienna, containing the names of those who perished at Worms in 1096 and 1349, and the names of various worthies of the congregation of Vienna, and published by him under the title of *Worms und Wien*[13] (Wien, 1880, 8vo.). Such is the Mayence "Memorbuch," which formerly belonged to the well-known *savant* Carmoly, and is now (as far as report goes) in the possession of Dr. Lehmann, Rabbi of the Orthodox Congregation of that place; and such is the Manuscript before us, which we now proceed to describe.

[13] A most interesting publication, which we can only regret that the learned editor did not more enrich from the vast stores both of his library and of his mind.

* כוזרי ii. 36.

Description of the Manuscript.

The Manuscript (University Library, Cambridge, MS. Add. 1506) consists of one sheet of parchment, 10 inches by 6¾ inches. The first three pages are written upon, and contain respectively 40, 41, and 47 lines. The original handwriting is a specimen of the finest style of German Ashkenazic in Rabbinic character, and is of about the middle of the fourteenth century; that is, at the latest, but a few years posterior to 1349, the year in which the events recorded in it took place.

The list of names, contained in the Manuscript, does not seem to be complete, for the last line breaks off in the middle with the names *Hilda, Yutlin*, without any further identification, either by naming the father or mother, or by mention of the women's occupation, or of some circumstances connected with them which would have identified them at the time, as is done in other cases.

But still there can be very little, indeed, of the list missing; perhaps, besides the name of the father, only that of another sister of these two women joined to the two preceding names by the conjunction "and" (though this last supposition even is not necessary, since in many instances in the Manuscript no such conjunction is used). For, that but little can be wanting is evident from the following facts. Our list mentions some 560 persons who perished at this time. Now, about ten years prior to this (1338), there were 212 Jewish citizens of Nürnberg (Barbeck's *Nürnberg*, p. 15), that is probably 212 *householders*, say 1,200 souls at most. Already in 1347 the disturbances between the two town-parties had begun, and all persons of property had received due notice that it would be prudent to flee. Moreover, many of the Jews did flee before the outburst of the massacre, and many others made good their escape during its fury, while in 1352 many of the old families returned to Nürnberg (Barbeck, p. 35). Thus, 560 out of 1,200 would seem to be a sufficiently large proportion to suppose to have actually perished at this time, and consequently there cannot be *many* names wanting to make the list complete.

We conclude, then, that the Manuscript before us gives an almost complete list of the names. But, since it is not complete, it can hardly be the *original* "Memorbuch." It is, however, of almost as much value as if it were the original. For, (1) from the character of the writing it is certain that it cannot have been written later than 1360, while it *may* have been actually written in the very year of the persecution, or perhaps rather in the year 1352, when the Jews returned to Nürnberg, and when certainly it would be most reasonable to suppose that the original "Memorbuch" would be drawn up; (2) after numerous and careful investigations made both by means of books (מפי ספרים), and in Fürth, Nürnberg and elsewhere by correspondence[14] (מפי סופרים), we are satisfied that, with the exception of this Manuscript, there is not a trace of a "Memorbuch" of the old congregation of Nürnberg in existence.

Our Manuscript must, from an early date, have formed part of a larger volume. For, at the left-hand top corner of pages 1 and 3 are

[14] Dr. Neubürger, Rabbi of Fürth, writes under the date September 12th, 1880, "Wir haben das Memorbuch der alten Gemeinde Nbg (Nürnberg) nicht; auch existirt meines Wissens nirgends eine Spur desselben." And Dr. Levin, Rabbi of Nürnberg, writes under date December 12th, 1880, "Ein Manuscript, welches das Memorbuch wäre, aus welcher Zeit auch immer, existirt hier und in der Umgegend nicht."

numbers which indicate that this sheet formed the 57th and 58th leaves of some book. Moreover, a portion of the upper margin has been cut off to make the leaves of the same size as those of the book with which they were bound. But, happily, nothing more than the tops of three *Lameds* has been cut off the original writing. The numbers נז on page 1, and the *lower* נח (for here are two) on page 3 are in an Ashkenazic hand, and square character, which is not much later than that of the body of the Manuscript, and dates between 1370 and 1390. What was the subject matter of this volume, of which our Manuscript formed a part, it is impossible now to decide. It may have been a history of the Jewish Community of Nürnberg up to the year 1349 (ק"ט) ; or perhaps it was a detailed account of the persecution of 1349 ; or, finally, it may have formed part of a collection of several "Memorbooks;" a supposition which we consider exceedingly probable.

On the outer margin of pages 1 and 3 are written, in an Ashkenazic Rabbinic hand of just before the end of the fourteenth century, the words,

יזכ' הש' נשמת הרוגי עבור שמסרו נפשם על קדושת השם בשכר תהא נפשם צרורות בצרור החיים עם נשמת אברהם יצחק ויעקב שרה רבקה רחל ולאה בגן עדן ונאמר אמן :

Since this is written in Rabbinic character, while the numbers נח נז are in square, it is impossible to identify the writer of the one with the writer of the other; though, as far as the age of the two writings is concerned, they may be by the same hand. From the word הרוגי, which is not followed by the name of any place, it would appear that the writer of these words did not know to what place this "Memorbuch" referred. He appears also not to have been a very accurate Hebrew scholar, for he writes תהיינה נפשותם צרורות for תהא נפשם צרורות.

The *upper* number נח on page 3 is of the early part of the fifteenth century.

On the paper wrapper of the Manuscript we have, in Rabbinic character of the first half of the present century, the words הועתק אות באות ממימרבוך דנורנברק.

And lastly, over the above-mentioned line, we have, in square character of some twenty years ago, the words,

אלו הן הנשרפים והנהרגים בק"ק נורנבערג

שנת ה"א ק"ט לבריאת עולם

The whole of the Manuscript is at present legible, but in places the ink is so faded that we have been able to trace the letters only in the clearest light, and even then, in some cases, with the utmost difficulty, though, in every case, with perfect certainty. In a few years' time these passages will be utterly illegible, so that if this valuable record is to be preserved to posterity at all, it must be done at once, "For if not now, when?" (ואם לא עכשיו אימתי Aboth, i. 14). We proceed, therefore, at once to represent the Manuscript letter for letter. As we have not preserved the lines and pages of the original, we have not written a word twice over, when in the Manuscript a portion of it stands at the end of one line and the word is fully written out at the beginning of the next. The numbers which divide off the members of different households are, of course, our own.

(1) ר' יוסף בר' יחיאל הכהן, וזוגתו מ' חנדלין, ובתו: (2) ר' יחיאל הכהן, ואשתו מ' יוטא, וג' בניו: (3) ר' יצחק בר' ברוך הכהן, ואשתו מר' יכנט, ובנו ר' ברוך הבחור, וחמותו הזקינה מ' חנה, ובתו מ' מינא, ובנה קופלין הנער, וששה בניו: (4) ר' יעקב ב' ברוך הכהן, ואשתו מ' טובא, ובנו מיכל הנער, ובתו דולצ' הבתולה, וד' בניו: (5) ר' יחיאל בר' יקותיאל הכהן, ואשתו מר' מירים, ושמנה בניו: (6) מר' דולצא בת ר' יקותיאל הכהן, וששה בניה: (7) מ' גוטלין בת ר' נחמיה הכהן, ובנו הנער: (8) ר' שמשון בר' ברוך הכהן, ואשתו מ' דייהא, וחתנו ר' דוד, ואשתו מר' ליליא בת ר' שמשון הכהן, ובנו ר' יחיאל הכהן, ואשתו מ' יוטא: (9) ר' יואל בר' קלונימוס הכהן, ואשתו מ' גוטלין, ובנותיו, יוטלין, מירלין, לאה, וג' ניניו, וזוסלין ויואל בני ר' חכים ניניו, ומשרתתו מ' בונא בת ר' יעקב מוירדא, ובתו מ' דולצא הבחורה, ובנותיה, חנה מירים, היצלין, ובניה, לזן, מיכל: (10) מרת ברונא בת ר' יקותיאל הכהן, וג' בניה, ובעלה ר' אלכסנדרי בר' קלונימוס אשר נתייכר: (11) מ' היצלין בת ר' יקותיאל הכהן, אשת ר' יקותיאל הכהן, ובנה משה, ושלשה בנותיה, פעסלין, חנלין, גוטלין: (12) ר' אברהם בר' קלונימוס הכהן: (13) ר' יודלין כהן: (14) מ'ה'ר' אליעז' בר' אליקי' הלוי, ובנו הנער: (14) ר' נתן בה'ר' עזריאל הלוי, ובנו ר' ויבלין הבחור, ובנו משה הנער, וג' בנותיו, גולדא, חנה, צורלין, וב' ניניו, שונלין, ונתן, בני ר' עזריאל הלוי: (15) ר' משה בר' יקותיאל הלוי, ואשתו מ' פעלטא, וב' בניה: (16) ר' יצחק בה'ר' שמואל הלוי, ואשתו, ובנו הנער: (17) ר' אברהם בר' אליעז' הלוי וזוגתו מר' מינלין, ונתן, ואלעז' בני ר' וישלין הלוי: (18) ר' שמעון בר' יודה הלוי: (19) ר' נתן בר' קלונימו' הלוי, ואשתו מ' גולדא, ובנו: (20) ר' לוי בר' אליקי' הלוי, ואשתו מ' פעסלין: (21) ר' אברהם בר' אלעזר הלוי, ואשתו מרת פעסלין, וח' בניו: (22) ר' שלמה בר' אליעז' הלוי, (23) הח'ר' ישי בר' אברהם הלוי, ובנו: (24) ר' אשר בר' מרדכי הלוי, ובנו ר' יועץ הלוי: (25) ר' לעזל, ואשתו מ' לאה: (26) ר' אלחנן בר' אלעזר הלוי חזן הכנס', ואשתו מ' קילא, ובנו יוסבל הנער, וה' בניו: (27) ר' יעקב בר' שמואל הלוי, ואשתו מ' צפורה, וג' בניו: (28) ר שמואל בר' יעק' הלוי: (29) ר' משה בר' נתן הלוי: (30) ר' מתתיה הלוי וזוגתו....: (31) הח'ר' שמשון בר' אורי שליח ציבור, ואשתו מ' רייכצ', ובנו: (32) ר' משה, וזוגתו מ' ריכלין. וחתנו ר' שמשון, ואשתו מר' ברונלין, וג' בניו, ובתו מ' רחל, ובנה מאיר הנער, וזלמן הנע': (33) הח'ר' יוסף בר' דוד, ואשתו מ' ברונלין, וד' בניו, ובתו: (34) הח'ר' יוסף, ואשתו מ' ריקא, ובתו: (35) הח'ר' ישר' בר' שמואל חזקן, ואשתו מ' ליבא, ובתו מ' רייכלין: (36) הח'ר' ישעיה, ואשתו מ' קילא, ובנו ר' משה הבחור, ובתו מ' דולצא הבחור', וחתנו, וב' בניו, ושתי בנותיו: (37) הח'ר' ישר' בר' יוסף, ואשתו (second page) קייזרין, וחתנו ר' משה, ובתו ינטלין, וב' בניו: (38) הח'ר' שמשון בה'ק' ר' יצחק, וזוגתו מ' קלרא, ובנו ר' יוסף הבחור, ובנו חיים הנער, ושני בניו, ובתו חנלין, וחתנו ר' מרדכי, ואשתו מ' שרה, ובנו חיים הנער: (39) הח'ר' אליש, וזוגתו מ' אסתר בת ר' ברכי', וב' בניו: (40) ר' שמואל בר' יועץ, ואשתו מ' גננא, וששה בניו: (41) ר' יוסף בר' דניאל, ואשתו מ' שפירנצא, וג' בניו, ובתו מ' ינטא הבחורה: (42) ר' אליקים בר' אברהם, ואשתו מ' מירים, ובתה ברונלין, ובנו ד' דוד הבחור, ואשתו: (43) ר' יוסף בר' זרח, ואשתו, ויתום אשר גידל: (44) ר' אהרון בר' יחיאל הגבאי, ואשתו מ' ליבלין, ובנו ר' מאיר הבחור, ובנו ר' ליברטרוט, ובתו ינטא, (?45) ר' יועץ בר' יחיאל: (?45) ר' מרדכי בר' יחיאל, ואשתו מ' חנה, וישתי בנותיו, (46) ר' חזקי' בר' יוסף, ואשתו מ' מייטין, ובנו ר' מרדכי הבחור, ובתו מ' שמחה, ובתו

תרצה הבתולה, ונינו אברהם: (47) מ' מייטין הבחורה: (48) ר' יוסף התנו של ר' דוד פפרקורן, ואשתו מ' בילא, ושני בניו: (49) ר' משה בר' אליקי', ואשתו מ' רבלין ונ' בניו: (50) ר' אליקים בר' יצחק, ואשתו מ' גוטא, ובתו: (51) ר' שמואל ממעננצא, ואשתו מ' חנה בת הח"ר יואל הלוי, ובנו זלמן הנער: (52) שלשה בני הק"ר שלום המכונ' וירדמן: (53) ר' דוד חתנו של ר' יודלין שמש, ואשתו מ' דבורה: (54) ר' ישר' בהק' ר' אשר, ואשתו מ' מינא, אשר קדשה הש' שני ימים אחר הגזירה, ובתה צורלין, משרתו נתן ור' יוסף הספר: (55) ר' יצח' בר' גרשם, ואשתו מ' יוטא, ובנו גרשם, וזונתו מ' גולדא, וג' בניו, ושני נינו בני הר' זעקלין: (56) מ' דולצא בת ר' אליקי' הלוי: (57) ר' חזקי' בר' יוסף, ואשתו מ' שפירנצא, וד' בניו: (58) נוטצלק הנער: (59) ר' ברוך בר' אורי, ואשתו מ' גודא: (60) ר' אברהם בר' שמואל המכו' הוייבך, וזונתו מ' אוגייא, ובתו עלין הבחורה, ובנו הנער: (61) מ' אידלין בת ר' שמחה הלוי, וב' בניה: (62) ר' יודה בר' יעקב, ואשתו מ' דולצא: (63) ר' חזקי בר' מרדכי, ואשתו מ' פעסלין, וג' בניו: (64) מ' נוטלין בת ר' מרדכי, וג' בניה: (65) ר' ברוך המכונ' פפרקורן, ואשתו מ' אסתר, ובנו: (66) ר' יצחק, וזונתו מ' גולדא, ובתו: (67) ר' אליעז' בר' אברהם: (68) ר' אברהם בהק' יואל: (69) ר' יחיאל המכו הרוידא, ואשתו מ' מינא, ובנו: (70) מ' חנלין בת ר' אליקים הלוי: (71) ר' נתן בר' יעקב: (72) ר' ברוך בר' מאיר, ואשתו מ' ינטא וב' בניו: (72) ר' יחיאל בר' יודה: (74) ר' יחיאל בר' יועץ, ואשתו מ' בוגלין, וג' בניו: (75) ר' בנימין בר' פריגורס, ואשתו מ' הינא, וב' בניו: (76) ר' שלמה בר' נתן, ואשתו מ' גולדא, ובנו ר' יחיאל, ובתו מ' בונא, וג' בניה: (77) ר' יצחק בר' יוסף חזן, ואשתו מ' חנה, ובתו מ' ורוידלין: (78) ר' יצחק בר' יעקב, ואשתו מ' טילין, וג' בניו: (79) ר' שמואל בהח"ר אברהם, ואשתו מ' אסתר, וח' בניו, וחתנו ר' יוסף: (80) ר' יצחק בר' אברהם המכו' ברוגל, ואשתו מ' גוילא, וח' בניו: (81) ר' ישר' בר' אורשרגו השוחט, ואשתו מ' נוטא, וג' בניו: (82) יעקב בר' יוסף הנער המכו' ליבא יקוף: (83) ר' שמואל פפרקורן, ואשתו, וד' בניו: (84) ר' ויבלמן מקיצינגן, ואשתו מ' ריבצלין, (third page) ובניו: (85) ר' אלקנה המכונ' קפרנטר, ואשתו מ' אדלחייט ובנו ר' אלייש: (86) ר' ברכיה בר' דוד, ואשתו מרת גימא, וב' בניה, ובתו הבתולה: (87) ר' דוד בר' אלעזר, ואשתו מ' בעלטא, וחתנו ר' שמואל, ובחו גולדא, וב' בניו: (88) ר' דניאל בר' גרשם, ואשתו מ' פעלטא, ובנו ר' מאיר הבחור ובנו ר' קופלין הבחור, וב' נינו: (89) ר' אברהם, ואשתו מ' פוורלין: (90) ר' משה בר' יצחק, ואשתו מ' חנה, וחתנו ר' יוסף, ואשתו מרת אולקא, ובנו הנער נתן, ושתי בנותיו: (91) מ' ברונלין בת ר' יחיאל הכהן: (92) מ' היצלין בת ר' קלונימוס הכהן, ובנותיה, חנדלין, ורוודלין, ברונלין, יוטלין, יינטלין, ריבלין, מירלין, בונלין, ואחותה אידלא ובתה: (93) ר' ידידיה בהח"ר מרדכי, ואשתו מ' פונפילייא, וב' נינו: (94) ר' אורשרגו בר' אליעז', ושתי בנותיו, ריבלין, יבנט, ובנו ר' אברהם, ואשתו מ' בילין, ובנו הנער: (95) ר' ברוך מלמד, ואשתו מ' רעבלין, ובתו הבחורה: (96) ר' קלונימוס בר' משה, ואשתו מ' בעלטא: (97) ר' יצחק בר' יוסף, ואשתו מ' היצלין בת ר' יקותיאל הכהן, ובתו פעסלין, ובנה משה, ובתה חנלין: (98) ר' אליקים בר' שמואל, ואשתו מ' ורוידא: (99) ר' שמעון בר' יצחק: (100 ר' חזקי' בר' יהואל, ואשתו מ' שרה, ובנו ר' יוסף, ואשתו מ' מירלין, וד' בניו: (101) ר' יצחק בר' חזקי', וג' בניו: (102) מ' מינא בת הח"ר משה הכהן, ושני בניה: (103) ר' ישר' בר' דוד, ואשתו מ' שונורווא, ובתו הבחורה, ונינו: (104) ר' יעקב בר' פסח, ואשתו מ' חנדלין, וב' בניו: (105) ר' יוזלין מבביר, ואשתו מ' שערלין, וד' בניו:

(106) מ' צורליף בת ר' יחיאל וג' בניה : (107) ר' פסח המכו' בונפנט , ואשתו מ' עדלין , וב' בניו , ושתי בנותיו : (108) מ' ריכלין בת ר' שמעון , וג' בניה : (109) ר' נוצלק בלן , ואשתו מ' נוטא , וב' בניו : (110) מ' מינא האלמנה בת ר' יצחק , ובנה הנער : (111) מ' יוטא בת הח"ר' מאיר : (112) מ' פעסלין בת ר' אברהם , ובתה : (113) מ' גולדלין אלמנת ר' שוועבלין : (114) מ' בונא אלמנת ר' יחיאל מוירדא : (115) מ' גולד' בת הק"ר' עזריאל הלוי : (116) מ' ורודא בת ר' זלמן , ובתה מעצלין : (117) מ' יוטא כלת ר' אליקי' הקבר : (118) מ' מסטא בת הח"ר' יעקב , אשר נתייסרה ונבחנה ביום א' אחר הנזירה , ועמדה בצירוף ובניסיון : (119) מ' מינא בת ר' נתן : (120) מ' גוטלין בת ר' אלעזר הלוי , ובנה ר' זלמן , ובתה פעלטא : (121) מ' ריצא אלמנת ר' מנא מקורנבורק , ושני בניה , ובתה הבחורה , ושני בניה : (122) מ' חנלין : (123) מ' דורפא , ובתה שונורווא : (124) מ' חנלין הויליץ , וב' ניניה : (125) מ' שרה הקטנה : (126) מ' גוטלין הקטנה : (127) מ' צפורה האלמנה , ובתה מ' יוטא : (128) מ' חנה האלמנה בת ר' יוסף , ובנה יוזלין הנער , ובתה עלין : (129) מ' מינא אלמנת ר' יעקב , וג' בניה : (130) מ' גוטלין האלמנה : (131) מ' גוטלין הזקינה : (132) מ' בילא מרדשטט , ואחותה מ' גוטלין הזקינ' , ובתה מינא : (133) מ' חנה בת ר' משה : (134) מ' ליליא בת ר' ישר' : (135) מ' גוטלין בת הח"ר' יוסף : (136) מ' ריצא : (137) מ' ברונלין האלמנה : (138) מ' בלומא בת הח"ר' אברזוש : (139) מ' אוגייא אלמנת מ"הר' מאיר : (140) מ' אוגייא משרתת : (141) מ' (*sic*) מ' שרה אלמנת ר' קרפיל : (142) מ' שונורווא המילדת : (143) מ' מירים הזקינ' : (144) מ' מירים בת ר' משה , וב' בניה : (145) מ' ורומלין בת מ' קילא : (146) מ' דולצא אלמנת ר' לעזל : (147) מ' עלין אלמנת הח"ר' ויבש : (148) מ' זוסא אלמנת ר' שמעון : (149) מ' גוטלין המכונ' ווקלבנין : (150) מ' חנלין : (151) ר' ישר' בר' אברה' , ואשתו מ' שונורווא , ובתו הבחורה מ' (*sic*) נ' מינלין , וניגו , ובנו דוד , ובנו ר' תנר : (152) אליקים הנער : (153) הלדא, יוטלין

Jewish Nomenclature.

It has been the habit of Jews from time immemorial to give *double* individual names to their children. The one is the Jewish name called *Shem hakkódesh*, "the holy name," and is given to a boy at circumcision, to a girl when her mother first goes again to the Synagogue.

The *Shem hakkódesh* is that under which the Jew performs all his strictly religious acts; by which, for instance, he is called to read, or to hear, the Law in the Synagogue. It is usually a biblical name, but there are many non-biblical names, which, for certain reasons, have been adopted by the Jews as "holy," *e.g.*, the Greek *Alexander* and *Kalónymos*, and the Hebrew-Aramaic *Orsherogo*, with numerous others.

The duplicate name, called *Kinnui* (plural *Kinnuyim*), is that by which the Jew is commonly known in the world, and which must be mentioned after the *Shem hakkódesh* in all Judæo-legal documents, such as Marriage Contracts, Bills of Divorcement, &c.

Now, inasmuch as the Jews have lived since the First Captivity in the lands of many lords, and since the destruction of the Second Temple have been wanderers upon the face of the earth, ויתהלכו מגוי אל־גוי ומממלכה אל־עם אחר, "and have kept going about from nation to nation, from one kingdom to another people" (Ps. cv. 13), it is most

natural that we should find that their *Kinnuyim* bear the impress of the languages of the various peoples among whom their lot has been cast:

> The very names recorded here are strange,
> Of foreign accent, and of different climes;
> Alvares and Rivera interchange
> With Abraham and Jacob of old times.
>
> *Longfellow.*

Thus the *Kinnui* is (*A*) often a name already current in the vernacular, and adopted by the Jews as (1) containing some of the same letters as the Hebrew name for which it is adopted as the duplicate, or as sounding something like it, *e.g.*, George for *Gershon*, Robert for *Reuben;* (2) as having a like meaning with it, *e.g.*, Θωμᾶς (תאום) *ὁ λεγόμενος Δίδυμος* (Twin), John xxi. 2. Freude for *Simchah*, Vögelein for *Zipporah;* or (3) from the name in the vernacular being capable of being interpreted as containing some reference to the origin of the Hebrew name, *e.g.*, Fisch for *Moses*, "For I drew him out of the water" (Ex. ii. 10); see under וישלין; or again (4), the *Kinnui* has no apparent connection with the *Shem hakkódesh*, *e.g.*, *Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἐπικαλουμένου* (המכונה) *Μάρκου* (Acts xii. 12), where the Latin *Marcus*, "a hammer," seems to have no point of contact with the Hebrew *Yochanan*, "God's grace."

We say "*apparent* connection," because, however difficult it may be to discover, there is, probably, always some *underlying* connection between a *kinnui* and the *Shem hakkódesh*. In the case before us might not *Marcus* have become the kinnui of *Yochanan*, from the fact that *Maccabee* (מקבי) means *Hammerer?* It is true that *Judah* is especially called *Maccabee* (1 Macc. ii. 4), while *Yochannan* is called *Caddis* (קדיש), so that we should rather have expected *Marcus* to have been a *kinnui* of *Judah.* But then we must remember that later on the whole family became called *Maccabee*, hence it is not so strange, as would at first appear, that *Marcus* should become a *kinnui* of *Yochanan*, which was the name of the *father* of Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 1), as well as of his *eldest* son (ver. 3). At any rate the whole of this passage (verses 1—5) is an interesting chapter in the history of double personal names.

Or very often (*B*), the *Kinnui* is a modification, or diminutive, of the *Shem hakkódesh*, or of some other Jewish name, formed after the manner of the vernacular, *e.g.*, Mirush for *Miriam*, Koplin for *Yaakob*. And this kind of *Kinnui* is of special interest, since by the successive modifications which the original Hebrew name has undergone in arriving at its present form, we can trace the migrations of the family, or community, in which this *Kinnui* is in common use. For instance, *Yentlin* is Hebrew-Romance-German (see under יכנט, and ינטלין), and points to migration from a Romance-speaking country to a German-speaking; again, *Sabel* and *Tebel* are Hebrew-English-German (see our Fragment of Pesachim, pp. 81, 83); and so, too, *Serlin;* but *Tzorlin* is Hebrew-Polish-German.

There are known to us but three works of any importance on the subject of Jewish names. They are the *Beth Shemuel* (by R. Shemuel b. Uri of Fürth), the נחלת שבעה (by R. Shemuel b. David of Bamberg), and Zunz's *Namen der Juden* (which has been republished in a revised form in his *Gesammelte Schriften*). The first two merely give numbers of *Kinnuyim* corresponding to various "holy names," with the different modes of spelling them. The last is an historical sketch, the object of

which was to prove that the Jews had from very ancient times been in the habit of adopting foreign names. But these three books do hardly anything towards explaining the derivations of the names which are adduced in them. We shall, therefore, now endeavour to give an account of the origin of most of the non-biblical names which occur in our Manuscript, several of which are not even mentioned in those works. There are also in the Manuscript some Titles of Office, and Designations of Professions and Occupations, together with some Names of Towns, of which we shall speak afterwards.

NAMES OF MEN.

אברזוש *Aberzuss* is a *kinnui* of Abraham. The latter part of the name Abraham is cut off, and to the word thus curtailed, after a slight change in the vocalization, the German *süss* "sweet" is added. Compare the name *Aberlieb*, i.e., "dear little Abraham" (but see under צורליך). Such compounds originated in pet-names given by mothers to their children in their babyhood. Such names will often, as all must have observed, cleave to people even after they have become adults. Later on (after the death of the original bearer), the name would be adopted as a favourite one in the family and neighbourhood, and so in course of time would come into general use. *Abersüss* must not be confounded with the Polish-Jewish name אברוש *Abrush*, which (according to Zunz) means *Abraham-son*.

אורשרגו *Orsherogo*, means "Light of the Lamp." It is used as *shem hakkódesh*, for which *Pheibish* (Phœbus) is a common *kinnui* (see under ויבלין, etc.). The peculiar spelling of the word in our MS. (Nos. 82, 95), with ו, not א, at the end, seems designed to ensure the pronunciation *sh'rogo*, not *sh'raga*, since at that time the German Jews did, not, apparently, pronounce the *kametz* (or *Aleph*) as *aw* or *o*, but as *ā* (see under קלרא).

אליש *Elish*, and No. 86, אלייש *Elaias* (according to the English pronunciation), is a well-known name, viz., *Elias* (Ἠλίας), the Greek form for אליהו, *Elijah*.

אלכסנדרי *Alexandri*, for Alexander, is constantly so spelt even in the Talmud (*e.g.*, T. B. Berachoth 17*b*, *et passim*), and so too in the list of the martyrs of Worms (A.D. 1349) in Jellinek (p. 5, l. 23, p. 6, l. 11). It has been used as *shem hakkódesh* (although Greek and not Biblical) since B.C. 333, when Alexander the Great came to Jerusalem, during, or just after, the seven months' siege of Tyre. The beautiful story is known to all:—How the High Priest came out to meet him in his pontifical robes, with the priests clad in their ceremonial attire, and the people in white garments. No sooner did Alexander behold the High Priest, than he alighted from his horse and felt down prostrate before him. When Parmenio asked him why he, whom all the world worshipped, should worship a wretched Jew, he replied, "I worship not the High Priest, but his God. In a vision at Dios, in Macedonia, that figure in that very dress appeared to me. He exhorted me to pass over into Asia and achieve the conquest of Persia." We may think what we please of the supernatural incidents of the story, but nothing can destroy its romantic and picturesque beauty. It is certainly narrated by Justin, that in many of the Syrian cities the kings came out to meet, and to submit to, Alexander with sacred fillets on their heads. Moreover, Alexander is stated to have transplanted 100,000 Jews to his new colony in Egypt, and to have bestowed on them equal privileges and immunities with the Macedonians. At any rate, be it that they were influenced by the miraculous nature of the occurrence, or by a sense of the conqueror's clemency, the Jews named all their male children who were born in that year "*Alexander*," and it has since been common among them not as a *kinnui*, but as *shem hakkódesh*.

בונפנט *Bonavent* (allied to *Bonaventura*) is here a *kinnui* of פסח, "Pesach," Passover being especially the festival "which comes for good." When the Jews were still steeped in comparative materialism, the feast of Harvest was called emphatically החג, "*the* Feast," because at that time were provided the things which rejoice the *animal* nature of man. Again one might have thought that, from a spiritual point of view, *Shābuoth* (The Feast of Weeks) might be looked on as the chief festival, because on it is celebrated the Giving of the Law; nevertheless it is made *legally* to depend on Passover by the ספירת העומר "the counting of the (49 days, till the offering of the) Omer"; as *historically* it depends on the fact of the Exodus from Egypt. Thus *Passover* remains the *chief festival*. And the

truth of this is recognised in the Jewish ritual for the seven Holy Convocations (מקראי קדש), *viz.*, Sabbath, Passover, Shābuoth, New Year, the Day of Atonement, Succoth, and Eighth Day of Solemn Assembly, by the fact that in one or other of the services for each of them the expression זכר ליציאת מצרים "In memorial of the Exodus from Egypt" occurs. Now, when the Jews speak of any day or event as coming, they are in the habit of saying, הבא עלינו לטובה (or לברכה, or לחיים ולשלום), "Which is coming upon us for good), *or* for a blessing, *or* for life and for peace)." Most fitly, therefore, do they apply the *kinnui* Bonavent, or Bonaventura, to a man who is called by the name of the chief festival, *Pesach*.

ברונל, which is, doubtless, the same as ורונל (*q. v.*), is in No. 80 a *kinnui* of Abraham.

גוטצלק *Gottzalk*, that is *Gottschalk*, means in German "God's servant," as does *Abdullāh* among the Moslems.

גוצלק (No. 109) *Gotzalk*, is merely another spelling of the preceding name.

הויבך (No. 60) *Hoybach*, i.e., *Heubach*. It is interesting to remark that, as the nobility, and others, were named after places, because those places could not be alienated from them, so the Jews often received their names from places, because they were, by law, unable to leave them—the places belonged to the nobility, etc., the Jews belonged to the places. (Thus there was a noble family of the name of *Offenbach*, which is often spelt by the Jews אופיבאך, or אופיבך, *Offebach*.) Now, there are no less than four places, all in South Germany, of the name of *Heubach*,* and this R. Abraham (or R. Shemuel) was, probably called after one of them. If this be the case, it is one of the earliest instances of the name of a place becoming a Jewish individual, or family, name, without the predicate 'ד', 'מ' ('De', 'of', 'von') being prefixed.

ויבלין *Feblin*, or *Fibelin*, is formed from *Phœbus*, "the sun," by cutting off the case-termination and adding the German *lin* (for *lein*). It is a common *kinnui* of such names as אורי and אורשרגא; and of חיים (see the *Beth Shemuel* under the letter *vav*), because the sun is the Lifegiver.

ויבלמן *Febelmann*, is another German variation of the name *Phœbus*. The diminutive *Feblin* is shortened to *Febel*, and then *mann* is added.

ויבש *Feibish*, or *Pheibish*, is another Jewish pronunciation of *Phœbus*.

וישלין *Fishlin* is a diminutive of the German *Fisch*, "Fish." It is well known that it is a *kinnui* of Ephraim; and the reason, too, is known, *viz.*, that, while Israel had his *right* hand on the head of Ephraim, he said of Ephraim and Manasseh (Gen. xlviii. 14—16) וידגו לרב "and let them increase (like fish) for multitude." It is also a well-known *kinnui* of Moses, and though the reason for this we have never seen mentioned, it evidently is because Pharaoh's daughter, in giving him his name, said (Ex. ii. 10), "For I drew him out of the water." Again, the *Beth Shemuel* tells us correctly that it is a *kinnui* of ירחם, *Jerocham*, and of שמואל, *Shemuel*, but it gives no reason. The fact is that *Jerocham* and his grandson *Shemuel* were of *Ephrath*, which word, like Ephraim, may be reduced to the word פרה, "to be fruitful," and so (in sense) with the word דגה "to increase (like fish)."

ורונל *Frugal*, seems to be the Romance *Frugale*; see under (ברונל).

ורוירא *Froida*, is simply the German *Freude*, joy (compare feminine *Froidlin*.) In No. 69 it is a *kinnui* of יחיאל, *Yechiel* "God-quickens."

וריזמן *Friedman* is, of course, simply the German name *Friedmann*, and is, as we see from No. 52, an old *kinnui* of שלום, *Peace*.

זוסלין *Zusslin*, is the German *Süsslein*, "Sweetie." In No. 9 it occurs as a masculine name; but it is also used as a woman's name.

זלמן *Zalman*, is a *kinnui* of Shelomoh, of Meshullam, and also of Ephraim. (For Ephraim see also under וישלין.)

זעקלין *Zeklin*, is a *kinnui* and diminutive formed mediately from יצחק, *Yitzchak*. It comes from the English pronunciation of Isaac, which sounds nearly like *Eisek* (Izek). The first syllable is dropped, and then the German diminutive termination *lein* is added, and we get Zek-lein. (Compare קופלין.)

חכים *Chakkim*, occurs also in one of Jellinek's MSS. (*Worms und Wien*, p. 3). On page 3 (*German*) he takes it as the Arabic name *Hakim*. Now, this name is certainly very uncommon among the Jews. It is, however, by no means unknown among the Jews of Turkey (see Schiller-Szinessy, *Catal.* I., p. 144); but even there it is a *family* name,

* M. Strauss, of Bradford (in the *Jewish Chronicle*) kindly pointed out *one* to us, meanwhile we had found out *four*.

not as in Jellinek and in our MS., an *individual* name. Zunz may, therefore, be right in supposing it to be the old German name Hagin (*Gesamm. Schr.* II., p. 33). Hagin is a name which occurs in the Sage of the Niebelungen-Lied.

יודלין *Yudlin*, is, of course, a diminutive and *kinnui* of יהודה, *Yehudah*, יודה, *Yudah*.

יוזלין *Yozlin* (No. 128), is an apocopation and diminutive of יוסף, Yoseph. Dropping the last syllable we get *Yos* or *Yoz*. To this the diminutive termination *lin* is added, and we get *Yozlin*.

יוסבל *Yossevel*, is formed from יוסף, *Yosef* (Yossev), by the addition of *el* for *lein*.

לזן *Lazen* is simply a diminutive of אלעזר, *Elazar*, which in the Yerushalmi is written לזר *Lazar* (whence *Lazarus*). Then the final *r* is dropped, and the diminutive termination *n* (the last letter of *lein*) added. In the form לעזל the first letter of *lein*, as is more usual, is affixed.

ליבא יקוף *Lieba-Yakob*, stands for *Lieber Yakob*, "Dear Jacob." In the following name the *r* of *lieber* is retained.

ליברטרוט *Liebertraut*, is spelt ליבר טרויט in the *Beth Shemuel*. In Jellinek (p. 6, l. 23) we find the common name ליבר מאן, *Liebermann*. *Traut* means beloved (and so in Welsh, *Drud*), thus *Liebertraut* is equivalent to the English name *Dearlove*.

לעזל *Lazel*, is an apocopation of אלעזר, *Elazar* (לעזר, *Lazar*), with the German diminutive termination. (See also לזן).

מיכל *Mikhel*, stands, of course, for מיכאל, *Mikhael*; but also for יחיאל, *Yechiel*.

מנא *Mana*, is a *kinnui* and abbreviation of מנחם, *Menahem* (see also under פרינורס), and also of *Immanuel*, עמנואל. *Mendel* is a diminutive of this (for this form of diminutive see under חנדלין).

פפרקורן *Pepperkorn* (modern *Pfefferkorn*), occurs here twice (Nos. 48, 83) as a *family* name, as is common enough; but it occurs once too as a *personal* name, *viz.*, in No. 65, as a *kinnui* of Barukh (ברוך).

פריגורס *Perigoros*, is the Greek *παρήγορος*, speaker, consoler. Thus in the first sense of the word this name is equivalent to *Barnabas*, בר־נבותא, *υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* (Acts iv. 36). In the second sense it is equivalent to מנחם, *Menahem*, the Paraclete, which is one of the titles of the Messiah (T. B. Synhedr. 98*b*; Midrash *Ekha rabbathi* on i. 16). פרינורט Jellinek (p. 4, l. 15), is, no doubt, a mistake for פרינורס.

קופלין *Koplin*, is simply an apocopation and diminutive of *Yaakob* (Jacob), just as *Zeklin* is of Isaac.

קלונימום *Kalónymos*, is the Greek Καλώνυμος, meaning "of beautiful name," or "fair-famed." It has long, like the name *Alexander* (*q. v.*), been in use as *shem hakkódesh*, for which the *kinnui* Kalman is used. The name Kalónymus (although Greek, not Biblical) came to be used as a *holy name*, because various persons of that name (chiefly of Italian origin) have, since at any rate the 8th century, added to the glory of Judaism in Germany by their halakhic and kabbalistic learning, by their liturgical poetry, and more than all, by the sanctity of their lives.

קפרנטר *Kupernator*, is the Latin *Gubernator*, governor, helmsman. It occurs (No. 85) as a *kinnui* of אלקנה, *Elkanah* "God-owns," or "Head-owner."

קרפיל *Karpel*. This name and קרביל, *Karbel*, are both given by the *Beth Shemuel* as *kinnuim* of Nathan. *Karbel* is, doubtless, the French *Corbeille*, "a basket," "wedding-presents," and so is a most appropriate *kinnui* of *Nathan*, especially if we take into consideration the expression (Gen. xxiv. 53) ומגדנת נתן, "And he gave presents," as the Jews translate it. *Karpel* may be merely the South-German way of spelling *Karbel* Corbeille, or it may possibly be a diminutive of Germ. *Karpf*, Engl. Carp. Now fish is looked on by the Jews as one of the greatest dainties (and has been so from the most ancient times; see Numb. xi. 5), and as such is very often given by them as a present, especially before a festival. Thus, even if this be the origin of the name *Karpel*, it is still a suitable *kinnui* of *Nathan*, which is from a root meaning "to give."

שוועבלין *Schwäblin*. About the origin of this name we are not certain; perhaps it may be a diminutive of *Schwab*, which may be the same as *Soave*, Lat., *Suavis;* if so, *Schwäblin* is in sense equivalent to *Züsslin;* more probably, however, it means "a little Swabian."

שונלין *Shonlin*, is the German *Schönlein*, Little-beauty.

תגר *Taggar*, is the Rabb.-Hebrew for "a merchant," and stands, no doubt, for the Germ. *Kaufmann*, Engl., *Chapman*. The name Kaufmann, which is common enough, occurs, it may be observed, in Jellinek (p. 6, l. 4) among the names of persons slain at Worms in this very year (1349).

אדלחייט *Adelcheit*, is, doubtless, the Germ. *Adelheid*, Adelaide, the ח, *ch*, being by mistake written for ה, *h*. In the last line of page 5 of his "Worms und Wien," instead of ר' יוסף ואשתו . מר׳ אדלהיט ובתו ונו׳, Jellinek should certainly have read ר' יוסף ואשתו מר׳ אדלהיט ובתו ונו׳.

אונייא occurs in our MS. and in Jellinek (p. 3, l. 8 *infra*, and p. 6, l. 4 *infra*) as the name of a woman, in which case it is a *kinnui* and abbreviation of *Abigail*, and was probably pronounced *Avigai*. Zunz is mistaken in placing it under the *Deutsche Namen*. By cutting off the first part instead of the end of the word *Abigail*, we get *Gaila*, *Kela*, etc., also as *kinnuyim* of Abigail (see under גיילא). In the *Beth Shemuel* אוניא (with one yod) is given as a man's name. Might this last be a mistake for אוניא (Shocher Tob, Ps. i. 2), compare ר' הוניא, which in some editions is given as חוניא (Midrash Rabbah, *Shemini*).

אולקא *Olka*, is a well-known name, which must not be confounded with Ella; but compare Elkel, Elkele.

In our MS. it was first written מילקא, then the מ (*m*) was changed into an א, and the י (*y*) was lengthened into a ו (*v*), both alterations having been made, apparently, by the original scribe.

אידלין *Edlin* is a diminutive of the German *Edel*, "noble," and so is, of course, related to Adelaide. The form אידלא *Edla* also occurs (No. 92).

בונלין *Foglin* is the German *Vögelein*, Birdie. It is a *kinnui* of Zipporah.

בונא *Bona* is of course Romance, meaning Good; compare *Guta*, *Yuta*, etc. The diminutive בונלין, *Bonlin*, also occurs (No. 92).

ביל׳א *Bela*, is the Romance *Bella*, "beautiful"; compare *Schönlin*, and see under פעלטא. The diminutive בילין *Belin* also occurs (No. 94).

בלומא *Bluma* is the German *Blume*, a flower.

בעלטא (also spelt פעלטא) *Beleta* is *Belletta*, a diminutive of *Bella*. Comp. בלט, Jellinek, p. 4, l. 18.

ברונא *Bruna*, with its diminutives ברונלין and ברינלין, *Brāunlin*, is the Romance *Bruna*, Germ. *Braun*, Eng. *Brown*; the diminutive meaning *Brunette*. But such a name, when adopted by German speaking Jews, would naturally become connected in their minds with *Brunnen*, *Brunlein*, "a fountain," "a little fountain," in reference to (Song of Songs iv. 12) גל נעול מעין חתום "a closed well, a fountain sealed."

גודא *Guda* (No. 59) seems to be a modification of the name *Guta*. In the MS. a small ט is written above the ד, apparently *prima manu*.

גוטא *Guta* (also גיטא *Güta*, *e.g.*, Jellenik, p. 6, l. 11), is the Germ. *Gute*, "good." We have too, in our MS., the diminutive גוטלין *Gutlin*, and the modification *Yuta*. A גיטל *Gitel* or *Gütel*, is mentioned by Zunz (from Paricius, p. 241), as having died in 1335, A.D.

גולדא *Golda* is the German *Gold*, "gold." The diminutive גולדלין *Goldlin* occurs No. 113.

גיילא *Gaila*, with which קילא is possibly to be connected, is, no doubt, an abbreviation of Abi-*gail*, comp. *Zek* for Isaac, and *Kop*-lin for Jacob.

גימא *Gema* is the Romance *Gemma*, "a gem." In Jellinek (p. 6, l. 19) we find צימא, which seems to point to a soft pronunciation of the *g* at Worms in 1349. Compare the name ורונל.

גננא *Gnana*. This is the traditional pronunciation of the Babylonian Talmudic word corresponding to the Hebrew חפה, "the bridal canopy." And the diminutive *Gnandel* can have come only from this pronunciation. In Jellinek (p. 6, l. 12) we have גננא, without medial י (*y*), and we have little doubt that the גנגא which Zunz gives (*Gesamm. Schr.* ii. p. 50) is really גננא, while the next name נענבא is our English *Nanny*, with the German diminutive termination *che*(*n*). But the form גנינא, *Gnena*, does also occur (*e.g.*, Jellinek, p. 6, l. 14). The diminutive *Gnendel* might come from this pronunciation, or, equally well, from *Gnana*, with the *a* modified.

דולצא *Doltza*, is the Romance *Dolce*, sweet. The peculiar Italian pronunciation of *c* before *e* and *i* is constantly represented by צ (*tz*, which is the German way of pronouncing *c* in such a case), *e.g.*, in נורצי for *Norcia*, שיציליא for *Sicilia*.

דורפא (No. 123) *Durpa* (*?*), is a name with which we are not acquainted. Is it of Polish origin?

דייהא *Daiha*, is a very peculiar name. It seems to contain the root of the well-known

diminutives *Daila*, *Daichen*. Perhaps they all are derived from דיה *Dayyah*, "Her sufficiency." Compare the expression (Song of Songs vi. 9), אחת היא יונתי תמתי, "One (*i.e.*, better than any other and all-sufficient in herself) is my Dove, my Perfect one." From *Daichen*, by dropping the *n*, as is so common, we should get *Daiche* or *Daicha*, and then by interchange of *ch* and *h* (see under the next word) the name would become *Daiha*.

הויילין *Hoylin*, is perhaps a diminutive of the German *Heil* (הייל), "health, salvation, comfort," comp. נוטהיילא *Gottheile*, "God's salvation" (Jellinek, p. 5, l. 17), and היילכא *Heilche*(*n*), (Ibid., p. 4, l. 23). And so (in No. 125) *Hoylin* is appropriately used as a *kinnui* of *Chanlin* (root חנן). There is also a Jewish name חיילא *Chaila*, *Chailche*. No doubt the German *Heil* was adopted by the Jews on account of its similarity of sound with the Hebrew חייל, *Chail;* compare (Prov. xii. 4) אשת חיל, "an excellent woman." The sound *h* is, of course, easily substituted for *ch*, thus we have *Chandlin* and *Handlin*, so too *Rachlin* and *Rahela*, *Daichen* and *Daiha*.

הינא *Hennah*, seems to be a modification of חנה *Channah*, Hannah.

הצלין *Hitzlin*. Zunz suggest that this is derived from the Germ. *die Heitere*, i.e., *Serena*. But we doubt the truth of this. The male name *Hitzel*, *Hetzel*, is certainly equivalent to *Harzel* (from *Hirsch*, "a hart"), for it is a *kinnui* of *Naphtali*, comp. (Gen. xlix. 21) נפתלי אילה שלוחה. We are inclined, therefore, to take *Hitzlin* to mean *a little gazelle* or *hind;* compare the Aramaic name מביתא, and the Greek Δορκάς (Acts ix. 36—40). The form היצלה, *Hitzlah*, occurs in Jellinek (p. 6, l. 20).

הלדא *Hilda*, is simply the Saxon name Hilda.

הנדלין *Handelin* or *Hendelin* is a diminutive (see under *Chandelin*) and *kinnui* of חנה Channah (see under *Chanlin*). At the same time it may be a German diminutive of *Hindinn*, a hind, and so be equivalent to *Hitzlin*. In this case, as in many others, (see under *Hoylin* and *Rika*) the Jews make use of a Jewish name which has also a distinct meaning in the vernacular.

וקלבנין, of this name we know nothing. If we may assume the נ (*n*) to be a mistake for כ (*k*), we might take the word to be *Wäckelbäck*(*r*)*in*, cake-baker. But in the absence of any corroborative evidence such an assumption were too hazardous. Possibly it may be *Wackelbeinig* "waggle-legged," the final ן (*n*) being a mistake for a final ך (*ch*).

ורוידלין *Froidlin* (and ורוודלין) is a diminutive of the German *Freude*, joy, the name ורוידא, which is fem. in No. 98 and masc. in No. 69. It is feminine too in No. 116, and is there spelt ורודא.

ורומלין. See פרומלין.

זוסא *Zussa* is the German *Süsse*, sweet. We have also the diminutive זוסלין, *Zusslin*, which is masculine, however, in No. 9.

חנדלין *Chandelin* is a double diminutive of חנה *Channah*. How the *d* came into the first diminutive *Chanadel*, may be open to dispute. We certainly have in Swabian diminutives in *rl* and *del*, thus from *Wagen*, a carriage, we get *Wagerl* or *Wagedel*. That the latter of these should come out of the former, seems contrary to analogy. *T* or *d* becomes *r*, but not *r*, *d*. Thus the Sanskrit cerebral *t* becomes *r* in modern Indian languages, *e.g.*, Sansk. *karpataka* "clothes," Hindi *karparā*, Bengali *kāpara;* and the Sansk. dental *t* often goes into cerebral *d* in Prakrit, and then into *r** in the modern languages, *e.g.*, Sansk. *pat* "to fall," Prakrit *pad*, Hindustani *Gir parā* "he fell down." It would seem, therefore, that the Swabian *Wagedel* does not come out of *Wagerl*, but that it is an independent diminutive formed from *Wagelein*, *Wagel*, with an inserted *d*, *Wagedel*, as in the English "tender." But it would be quite according to rule that *Wagerl* could come out of *Wagedel*, yet whether such is the fact, or not, we do not know. On the other hand, as far as Jewish pronunciation is concerned, we have certainly in the Babylonian Talmud an instance of *r* being taken for *d*, *viz.*, Niddah 36*b*, where we read, ואי לא צייתּ גרייה , הוא סבר נדייה "And if he will not listen to thee, persuade him (garyeh); but he thought [that he said], Excommunicate him (gadyeh)." So that in the Jewish *Chanadel* we may either consider the *d* to be inserted, or to be in the place of *r*. Next a secondary diminutive is formed by the addition of the last part of the diminutive termination *lein* (compare *Lazen*), and from *Chanadel* we get *Chandelin*.

חנלין *Chanlin* is a simple diminutive of חנה, *Channah* (Hannah).

טובא *Tuba* is the German *Taube*, a dove. It is also spelt טוויבא, *e.g.*, in Jellinek (p. 6, l. 24).

* Might the Æth. *nágara*, "to speak," be connected with the Hebrew *nagad*, Hiph. *higgeed*?

טלין *Tillin*, better known as *Tille*, is a diminutive formed from the second syllable of Mat*ilda* (see also under *Maitin*).

יוטא *Yuta* is a South-German modification of *Guta* (q. v.); but we ought not to omit to mention that *Jutta* is a German diminutive of *Johanna*. The diminutive יוטלין, *Yutlin*, also occurs as well as גוטלין, *Gutlin*.

יכנט is now pronounced *Yakhent*, and contracted *Yakhet*, but it must certainly have been originally pronounced *Yechanet*. The Hebrew name יוחנן, *Yochanan*, became gradually corrupted from יוחן, *Yochan* (e.g., *Otzar Tob*, p. 088, ll. 12, 17, 22), to Johann, French *Jehan* (modern *Jéan*). The feminine diminutive of this last is *Jeannette* or *Janet*, which was formerly pronounced *Jehannette*. The Jews would pronounce the *h* more strongly and call the name *Yechanet*, that is יכנט. The substitution of כ (*kh*) for ח (*ch*) may be observed in *Rekhlin* from *Rachel*, as also in the modern Nestorian Syriac פרכך, *parkāch* "we are coming to an end," for פרקי אחנן. In Germany the pronunciation of כ is often so similar to that of ח, that we observe a tendency on the part of German Jewish printers to interchange these two letters, *e.g.*, to print יחונן for יכונן, &c. Nor are mistakes of scribes and printers to be despised, for they afford us very valuable evidence concerning the pronunciation of the letters in different countries and ages. For instance, had ב been always pronounced as a hard B (as now by the Spanish Jews, probably through Moorish influence, and in spite of the pronunciation of B as *v* or *bh*, according to circumstances, in the vernacular) we should never have had the variant הענוה (for הענבה) in the Mishnah *Peah* i. 2.

ינטא *Yenta* is the same as *Janet* (see the preceding word).

ינטלין *Yentlin* is a double diminutive of *Jeanne*, viz., *Janet-lein*. In Jellinek (p. 5, l. 2) we have יינטלא, *Yentla*, and p. 6, l. 19, יינמא, *Yenta* or *Yeneta;* and several times in our MS. (but always with one *yod*) ינטא (see above).

ליבא *Lieba* is the German *Liebe*, love. ליבלין *Lieblin* is a diminutive of this.

לילייא *Lilya* is probably the Romance *Lilia*, Lily, (Ital. *Giglia*, Lat. *Lilium*). But it might have been adopted as sounding somewhat like the Aram. *Lelya* "night," and so may be made to correspond with the Arab. *Leilā*.

מייטן *Maiten*. The *Beth Shemuel* rightly places מייטלין, מייטין, מטל, *Matil*, *Maiten*, and *Maitelin* together. They are all derived from *Matil-da*. The first *Matil* must not be confounded with the German *Mädel*, *Magd*, *Maid*, Engl. Maid; but the other two may be in some way connected therewith.

מינא *Minna* is probably the German *Minne*, love.

מינלין *Minlin* is a diminutive of the preceding.

מירלין *Merlin* is a diminutive of the Aram. מרים, *Maryam*, the first syllable being influenced by the English pronunciation of *Mary*. But when pronounced *Mirlin* it is adopted at once from the Hebrew name Miryam (see under the next word).

מירים *Miris* is a *kinnui* of מרים, *Miriam*, Mary. A Polish name of the same origin is *Mirush*. Though the word occurs several times in the MS., a doubt might be entertained as to whether the final *s* (ס) of this word be not a mistake for *m* (ם), especially since מרים occurs several times in Jellinek as a common name at this time. But since Jews generally use the Aramaic pronunciation *Maryam* (not *Miryam*), and the *i* is distinctly written here in the first syllable, we conclude that the name is in all probability really *Miris* (not Miriam).

מסטא *Mossetta* (?) is perhaps a feminine diminutive of משה *Moses*. There is a somewhat similar feminine name which occurs on a slab in the British Museum, on which is inscribed the epitaph of one משתא, daughter of David, who died at Aden, in South Arabia, on 12th Ab, Ann. Contr. [10]29, A.D. 718. The latter name is also found as that of the mother of the poet סאלם אלשיבזי בן יוסף, who flourished in Yemen, A.D. 1570 (*Iben Safir* i., p. 82*a*, line 10). Levy (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Bd. xxi., p. 157) is in doubt whether משתא should be pronounced *Masta* or *Mashta*, and says that neither form, according to its meaning in Arabic, is exactly suitable to be used as the name of a woman. He does not know whether the name משתא is still found among the Arabs. Wright (The Palæographical Society, *Facsimiles of Ancient MSS., etc., Oriental Series*, part II., plate XXIX.), in default of any evidence as to the true pronunciation of the word, adopts the spelling *Mashtā*. We will merely add, that, while מסטא might be pronounced *Masta*, but not *Mashta*, and משתא might be pronounced *Mashta* or *Masta*, both מסטא and משתא might represent *Mossetta* or *Mesetta* (comp. the name *Mese* from משה).

מעצלין (116) *Metzlin* is a name of which we do not know the origin.

עדלין *Edlin*, is merely another spelling of אידלין, *q. v.*

עלין *Ellin*, is a diminutive of the German *Ella*.

פוורלין *Paverlin* (*Pauerlin*), is a diminutive of *Pora* (which occurs, for instance, in Jellinek, p. 7, l. 1) and *Pair*. Well-known names in the present day of the same origin are *Paierl* and *Paierle* (פייערל). They all mean "Birdie," and are abbreviations and *kinnuyim* of *Zipporah*, which is sometimes abbreviated *Zip*, at others *Porah*. Compare *Avigai* and *Gaila* for Abigail; *Maiten* and *Tillin* for Matilda.

פונפיליא is probably the same name as בונפיליא (Jellinek, p. 5, l. 3), and to be pronounced *Bonfilia*. In the MS. the word is altered into פונפילניא, apparently *prima manu*. This would be intended to represent the *spelling*, as the " does the *pronunciation*, of the Italian *Figlia*. It would be possible for it, however, to represent the Roman name *Pompilia*, if spelt with two ".

פעלטא *Pelta* or *Peleta* (often spelt בעלטא *Beleta*) is *Belletta*, a diminutive of *Bella* (see under בילא). But פעלטא (in the *Beth Shemuel* spelt פילטא) occurs also as a man's name, in which case it stands for the Biblical פלטי, *Palti*, or פלטיאל, *Paltiel*.

פעסלין *Pesslin* (often spelt בעסלין, *Besslin*, and in Jellinek, p. 6, l. 14, once פעסלין, and then even (פעשלין), is, as Zunz has correctly remarked, a diminutive of our English *Bess* for Elizabeth. Thus, little as it sounds like it, *Besslin* has its origin in the Biblical name אלישבע, *Eïsheba*, for which the LXX. gives Ἐλισάβετ. The *l* is part of the diminutive termination, so that the word is not derived from the Hebrew פסל, *Pésel*, image. Still from the similarity of sound the two words are often connected in the Hebrew mind, so that *Pesslin* is often regarded as meaning the same as *Tokel*, Püppchen, Dolly.

פרומלין *Fromlin* (also in Jellinek, p. 6, l. 10), is a diminutive of the German *Fromme*, "pious." In Jellinek (p. 5, l. 28) we have פרומט, *Fromet*, as a woman's name, and spelt (probably by mistake) ורופט (l. 30). In 145 we have the name spelt with initial *vav* (ורומלין) after the analogy of other names beginning with *F*, as *Fishlin*, *Feblin*, *Friedmann*, etc.

צורלין *Tzorlin* is a corruption and diminutive of שרה, *Sarah*. The *o* in the first syllable of the word comes from the Polish pronunciation of the *kametz* as *o*, which is almost equivalent to *ô*. Thus *Sarah* is pronounced *Sóreh*. The first syllable of this, *Sor* or *Sôr*, was taken, and the *S* (ש) turned into *Tz* (צ), which gives *Tzor*, then the termination *lin* was added (see also under שערלין).

צורליף *Tzorleb*. The first syllable, as in the preceding word, is the first of *Sarah*. When the syllable ליף, *lieb*, precedes a name, it stands for the German *lieb*, "dear," as in *Liebe-yacob*, *Lieber-traut;* but when ליף follows the name, as in צורליף, it may stand for the German *lebe*, "may he (or she) live." This pious ejaculation is often used by the Jews in mentioning a person's name, and so in some cases became actually combined with the name.

קייזרין *Kaizerin*, is the German *Kaiserin*, Empress. This is a most uncommon name, but *Regina*, Queen, is very common.

קילא *Kela*, see under גיילא, *Gaila*.

קלרא *Klara*, is simply *Clara*. It is pointed in the MS., *primâ manu*, קְלָרָא, which clearly shows that the *kametz* was pronounced as *â* (see under אורשרגו).

רייכלין *Reikhlin*, is a diminutive of the German *Reiche*, Rich (compare רייבצא).

ריכלין *Rekhlin*, is a modification and diminutive of רחל *Rachel*. For the change of ח (*ch*) into כ (*kh*), see under יכנט. It is also (No. 49) spelt רכלין, perhaps to be pronounced *Rakhlin*, for *Rachele* is a well-known name.

ריכצלין. If this is to be pronounced *Rekhzelin*, it is a Slav-German diminutive of *Rachel* (compare *Rekhlin*); but if it is to be pronounced *Reikhzelin*, it is a Slav-German diminutive of the German *Reiche*, see under רייבצא; but still, seemingly, connected with the Hebrew *Rachel*.

רעכלין *Rekhlin*, spelt with ע, is the same name as ריכלין, with a י (compare פעלטא and פילטא).

רייבצא *Reikhza*, and רייבצלין *Reikhzelin*, are dimin. of the German *Reiche*, rich, or of *Rachel*. The first is a Slav diminutive; the second is a further Jewish-German diminutive of the former. The word ריבצנה (Jellinek, p. 6, l. 5) is possibly a mistake for ריכצנה. But it may be that it represents *Rabbitzin*, that is, either the wife of a Rabbi (compare *Professorin*), or a woman well-versed in the Jewish liturgy, and so able to find the places for her neighbours in the Synagogue; or it may be connected with the

German *Ribesel*, *Rübsel* (Lat. *Ribes*), currant: compare the name שוועטשקא, *Shvetshka*, Bohemian *Sswiska*, German *Zwetschke*, a plum.

ריצא *Ritza* (Jellinek, p. 6, l. 16, רייצא) is either a contraction of the preceding *Reikhza*, or the German *Reiz*, charm.

ריקא *Rika*. This is a name which has a different origin according to the country in which it is used. When used by Italian Jews it, doubtless, stands for *Ricca*, rich (compare *Reikhza*). If it is used by German Jews it is short for *Rachel* (compare *Rechlin*, and especially *Riklin*); for at so early a date as 1349 it would hardly be an abbreviation of Friede[rika], or Ul[rika], as a friend in Germany has suggested. Here in England it is certainly in use among Jews as an abbreviation of רבקה, *Rivkah* (Rebecca). Many names among the Jews, on account of their perpetual wanderings from one country to another, have (as we have observed under הנדלין, ברונלין, etc.) more than one meaning and origin (compare also the name שפרנצא).

שונורווא (Nos. 103, 123, 142, 151) we read as *Schönfraue* (Belladonna) and identify it with the name Schönfraue(n?), cited by Zunz from Würfel, p. 40. He is right (*Gesamm. Schriften*, p. 50) in taking it as an equivalent of the Hebrew שפרה *Shiphrah* (Beautiful, Bella). But it is not necessarily the name of a מילדת. For in our MS. No. 142 was a מילדת, but not so Nos. 103, 123, and 151.

שונלין *Schönlin*, is a diminutive of the German *schön*, beautiful, and so is equivalent to *Belletta*. Compare שיכדיל (in *Beth Shemuel*) *Schöndel*, i.e., *Schönerl*, for which form of diminutive see under *Chandelin*.

שפירנצא *Speranza*, is the Italian *speranza*, hope. It must not be confounded with the masculine and family name *Sprintz*, meaning sparrow-hawk. This is merely an instance of the same Hebrew letters standing for different names in different languages.

שערלין *Serlin*, is a corruption and diminutive of *Sarah*. The *e* in the first syllable is of English origin, for in England Sarah is pronounced *Sārah*. See also under צורלין.

TITLES OF OFFICES AND DESIGNATIONS OF PROFESSIONS AND OCCUPATIONS.

בלן *Ballān* (Βαλανεύς), is the keeper of the baths for the exclusive use of the Jews, as at that time Jews and Christians were not allowed to bathe together (Barbeck, p. 13). He, or one of his subordinates, was often also the ספר, *sappār* (barber), or rather "*Zwicker*," hair-eradicator, to the congregation (for the use of the razor comes under the prohibition ולא תשחית, Lev. xix. 27). Such a person was also often the אומן, *Umān*, leech, bloodletter, with which he sometimes combined the general duties of רופא, medical-man and professional *Mohel*. (The same man's mother, wife, sister, or daughter would, no doubt, superintend the religious bath (*mikvah*) of the women).

הגבאי *Haggabbay*, the treasurer, bursar and almoner of the congregation. This officer corresponds, more nearly than any other, to the *διάκονος* of the Acts of the Apostles (ch. vi., etc.).

הספר (with the omission of the ו, as in the majority of instances in the Bible) may be *Hassopher*, the scribe, the writer of the Siphere Torah, Tephillim, and Mezuzoth (סופר סת"ם). But, since it was not the custom at this time to write such words defectively (cf. השוחט), it appears to us more probable that הספר is *Hassappār*, the "*Zwicker*" (see under *Ballān*).

הקבר *Hakkabbār*, the paid sexton. *Hakkabbār* must not be confounded with קברן *Kabrān*. The latter is the holder of a high and honorary dignity in the חברא קדישא (see Schiller-Szinessy, *Catal.* I., p. 99, note).

השוחט *Hasshochet*, a man of religious character, appointed and paid by the congregation, after being duly examined and authorised by the Rabbi, to slay animals for the use of Jews. In the times of the Talmud and of the Geonim (and in some places to this day), the butcher, being himself a religious man and of approved qualifications, combines with his business of meat-selling the duties of *Shochet*, and is then called טבח *Tabbach* (*e.g.*, T. B. Chullin 9*a*, *Beth Joseph* on Tūr. Y. D. i.). But in the time of Samuel the טבח (1 Sam. ix. 23) was a cook, or steward.

חזן *Chazzān*, and more fully חזן הכנסת, *Chazzan hakkenéseth*, which originally meant Watcher, Overseer (of the congregation), is, as is well known, used in many senses in the Talmud, see הערוך (ed. Landau) *sub voce* (editor's note). In Temple-times the *Chazzān* was a mere server (שמש), for we learn in the Mishnah (Yoma vii. 1, Sota vii. 7) that the *Chazzan hakkenéseth* on the day of Atonement took the Roll of the Law and gave it to the *Rosh hakkenéseth*, and the *Rosh hakkenéseth* gave it to the *Sāgān*, and the

Sāgān to the *High Priest*. A remarkable parallel may here be observed between the four orders of the Temple, and the minor and major orders of the Roman Catholic Church; in the one the *Chazzān*, *Rosh-hakkenéseth*, *Sāgān*, *High Priest*; on the other *Server* (or Sub-Deacon), *Deacon*, *Priest*, *Bishop* (Archbishop or Pope). But the *Chazzān* rose by degrees from being a mere server, to become a Minister of the congregation, and then a Reader or Precentor of the congregation — among the Jews; and, in the Christian Church, if we should suppose the name ἐπίσκοπος to have been adopted as corresponding in meaning with *Chazzān* (root *chazah* "to see"), we may observe how the bearer of this title rose from being a mere minister *of* the congregation, to be God's Minister *to* the congregation, and how his promotion eventually culminated in the highest priestly office of Bishop.*

מבכיר (No. 105), may be a scribe's error. Might it be a mistake for the Palestinian מבקיר (Babylonian מפקיר)? If this be the case, it will denote the officer, who in some congregations used to (and may in some to this day) publish in the Synagogue notice of things lost, for sale, etc. Or, again, during Temple-times the male first-born (בכורות) of clean cattle were given to the priest. When the Temple no longer stood, and such could no longer be given to the priest (to whom now, nevertheless, they by rights belong, though no particular individual priest can claim them), it became the custom (and such is the case to this day in old congregations) to allow them to graze in the burial-ground (בית הקברות), that they might run the chance of damaging themselves against the grave-stones, and so contract a blemish (ירעו עד שיסתאבו), and so become available for ordinary use (חולין). Might the "מבכיר," if really the name of an officer, have been one who was authorized—either in order to save the valuable time of the Rabbi, or because in the Rabbi's *Hattarath Horaah* the permission to decide on "Bekhoroth" might be, either not included (יורה יורה ידין ידין), or distinctly excluded (יתיר בכורות אל יתיר, T. B. Synhedrin 5*a*)—to examine the damages thus contracted, and to decide whether they came under the meaning of the legal term "blemish" (מום)? We throw out these as mere conjectures.

מלמד *Melammed*, a teacher (of children).

שליח ציבור *Shelīach Tzibbūr*, Deputy of the Congregation to recite publicly the prayers. This office, which is now merged in that of the duly appointed and paid *Chazzān* (or sub-*Chazzān*), was in olden time everywhere (and is to the present day in many places, particularly on the high holidays) an *honorary* office, and a mark of great distinction.

שמש *Shammāsh*, corresponding somewhat to the modern beadle or pew-opener in the Church, was a person whose duty it was to keep the Synagogue clean and in order. He may, among other things, have acted as *Schul-klopfer* (see Barbeck, p. 15). Phœbe (διάκονος, Rom. xvi. 1) seems to have been a *Shammāsh* in the congregation of Kenchreæ: and such also seem to have been the "duæ *ancillæ*, quæ *ministræ* dicebantur" of Pliny's letter to Trajan.

With reference to women we have only the designation משרתתו (9), "his domestic servant" (cf. מ‍שרתו in 54), משרתת (140) "a domestic servant," and המילדת, *hammeyallédeth*, "the midwife."

NAMES OF TOWNS.

בעגנצא *Begentza*, *Megentza*, *i.e.*, Moguntia, Maintz, Mainz, Mayence. In No. 51 the spelling of the word has been altered, *primâ manu*, from בשנצא Beaugenci (?) to בעגנצא, or *vice versâ*.

וירדא, in all probability stands for *Fürth*. If so, our numbers (9 and 114) are against Barbeck's statement (p. 45) that there is no trace of Jews living at Fürth until 1528 A.D. On the other hand, it is not impossible that וירדא may represent *Werde*, a place in that neighbourhood.

קיצינגין *Kitzingen*, *i.e.*, Kissingen, the famous watering place.

קורנבורק *Kornbork*; which was earlier still pronounced *Kornborch*; now Kornburg.

רדשטט *Radstatt*; now Rastadt.

* This was written long before Dr. Kohut's article, which is now in course of publication in השחר, began to appear; of which, however, as yet but one instalment has come out.

CONCLUSION.

Now that we have commemorated with due honour the names of the noble "Army of Martyrs" of Nürnburg, and spoken with unavoidable disgust of the dastardly conduct of their persecutors, let us turn for a moment to a brighter side of the picture, and mention, with well-merited admiration, the names of some of those Christians who opposed themselves to such barbarities. For even in those ages, when religious zeal was in most cases only a mask for lawlessness and rapacity, there were some noble spirits which rose superior to the narrow prejudices and mean interests of their times, and raised their voices in opposition to decrees of persecution and slaughter, and endeavoured to control the outbursts of popular fury against the Jews. Let them ever be remembered with honour, for they were as lights shining in dark places; they were men who endeavoured to quit themselves like men in a place where there were no men (see Aboth ii. 5). Such were the Emperor* Henry IV., S. Bernard, Pope Eugenius III., the Emperor Frederick II., King Alfonso of Castile, and Pope Honorius III. And, in the times of which we are writing, the Pope Clement VI. and the Emperor Charles IV. were both favourable to the Jews, and endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent their persecution: for when once the bloodhounds of persecution—Avarice, Ignorance, and Hatred—are let loose, nothing short of the power of Heaven itself can restrain them. The following also, at that time, fought manfully for the Jews, allowing themselves to be removed from office, rather than permit harm to be done to the Jews under their jurisdiction: Cunze von Wintertur Bürgermeister von Strassburg, Rath Gosse Sturm, and the Gildemeister Peter Swarber, also the Council of Cologne,† whose names are not recorded. Of these, and all others like them, we may all, whether we be Christians or Jews, make use of the words of the prayer אב הרחמים, and say, "May our God remember them for good together with the rest of the righteous ones of the world."

יזכרם אלהינו לטובה עם שאר צדיקי עולם:

* And, here be it mentioned to their credit, the Emperor and Crown Prince of Germany are at the present time doing their best to put a stop to the disgraceful outrages, which are being perpetrated against the Jews in Germany.

† As it seems the present Counsellors of Cologne are not behind their predecessors, but are doing all that they can in favour of the Jews.

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